the thatch is old and the pine siding obviously has replaced the diagonal wattle, but in other essentials it is a simple peasant hut built in rural Okinawa for generations. 342

(1) The upright supporting poles for the frame of the rectangular house are set on flat stones. In Hinatogawa, where they are quarried, they are especially cut for this purpose. The uprights are set about six feet long, and 3 1/2 inches in diameter. The poles are set so that there are four on the sides, six in front and rear, the end poles serving a dual purpose. (Fig. 1) 342 335

(2) On the front and back, cross poles, or tie beams to support the roof are nailed on to the cut end of the upright. The poles on the sides are fastened by making a simple groove the diameter of the pole. (Fig. 2)

(3) With the frame completed, the box like structure is ready for the ridge pole and its supports. These uprights are longer, perhaps 9 or 10 feet, and provide the slant of the simple gabled roof. They are also set on stones, but inside the area inclosed by the upright supporting poles. The ridgepole is now nailed to the ends of the center posts.

(4) The problem now is to provide a frame on the slanting roof for rods of miscanthus which in turn support the thatch. For this purpose, smaller poles, like rafters, run from the peak of the roof to project over the eaves. (Fig. 3)

(5) These rafter poles, set about one foot apart, jut out over the eaves on the front and back of the house about 1 1/2 feet. The ends of these small rafter poles are joined together with a longer horizontal pole. This horizontal pole is nailed on top of the ends. (Fig. 4) These poles may not be long enough for a whole side. They are rough, often crooked. If they are not long enough, the ends of two poles may be lashed together with rope.

(6) These rafter poles are not fitted or grooved into the ridge pole. Neither are the ends mitred. Instead the poles' ends alternate with one another. (Fig. 5)

(7) Horizontal poles are then laid across the rafter poles and nailed down. These brace the structure and divide the roof into a series of rectangles.

(8) The frame of the house is now completed and it is ready for the roofing and the siding. To help in nailing the rafter poles, women prepare a braid of rice straw or miscanthus and nails are inserted into the loops of the braids. The braid is handed up to the workman who puts it between his teeth, providing a continuing source of nails, as he tacks down the poles of the roof. Old men and old women prepare the nail braid. [283] [887]

live with his wife at the home of his parents, that the father will formally retire from active management of his property--but not from physical labor--at the age of 60, that both parents will continue living with their eldest son, the daughter-in-law, and the grandchildren, and that the second and any succeeding sons, when they reach marriageable age, will marry, and at this time--if it has not been done before--the father or the eldest son will provide a house site and some land, permitting the establishment of a branch family. The first and succeeding daughters will marry first or other sons of other families, leave their parents' home and accept a position in the main or in a branch family of the husband's house.

The parallelism in structure between the extended family and its member families and the individual family with its branch families established by sons other than the first can be seen in the following diagram:

All of the families, except those designated with the numeral 1, are branch families of the extended family. Family #7, is a branch family of a branch family. Family #5 (itself a branch) is the main family of Family #7 as far as the immediate descendants in Family #7 are concerned.

In the following illustration, the second son has established a branch family of Family #7, while the head's own son will inherit the main house, leaving his second son to establish a branch. Family #7 is a branch of a branch, but with relation to succeeding houses in the direct line, it is a main family.

fortune teller. The purpose of this visit is to discover who would be a good adopting parent. The fortune teller advises the parents to select a person born under the same year sign as the child. These year signs roughly correspond to the signs of the sodiac. The twelve signs with their Japanese equivalents are: rat (ne), ox (ushi), tiger (tora), hare or rabbit (u), dragon (tatsu), snake (mi), horse (uma), sheep hitsuji), monkey (saru), bird (tori), dog (inu), and hog or boar (i). The year 1951 was the year of the hare; 1952 is the year of the dragon (tatsudoki).

The adopting or "growing up" parent is older, in multiples of 12, than the child. After consulting almanacs and other materials, the fortune teller advises the parents to find a person in the village born under the same year sign as the child. Prospective adopting parents are then sought out and the matter is discussed with them. Both parents may do this, but most often the discussions are carried on by the mother. When the selection is made, the child is "given" to the adopting parent, and there are prayers before the Buddhist god shelf in the home of the adopting parent.

Actually the child continues to live with its own parents, but makes frequent visits to the home of the adopting parent. There are no stated intervals at which these visits are made, except for New Years and O-Bon. The adopting parent may on these visits give food and presents to the child.

The arrangement thus seems to be a form of sponsorship and guardianship without special responsibilities on the part of the adopting parent, to bring good health and long life to the child. It has only slight resemblances to the godfather and godmother in Christian countries who sponsor a child at his baptism and theoretically at least undertake to be responsible for his Christian training. But the sponsorship and guardianship features are somewhat similar.

Adoption of this type may be done in Okinawa by either sex. Generally old women are the favorites and they may have many such adopted children. But old or older men may also assume this obligation. This form of "growing up" adoption existed in all the villages studied in substantially the same form.

8

The Household Order Naming System

Families in a village have, in addition to their own surnames, secondary names by which individual families are known. This secondary naming system is a device to distinguish related families with the same surname from one another.

The secondary naming system is known as "the household order," or yaro in Japanese. To introduce this discussion, it might be well to

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

311 243 be lowered. If the rainfall is unusually low, the estimated yields may even be cut in half. Grade differences are also shown by the Oushichan tax table on rice land:

Class	Rate in Yen (per tsubo)
1	37
2	34
3	31
4	28
5	25
6	22
7	19

[651]

311 The grading of dry crop land is not so simple because various crops can be grown and there are difficulties in making equivalences of yields. The grading is more subjective and vague, with gradations based on the judgment of the land committee. It might seem that the grades of dry crop land based on subjective judgment would be difficult to agree upon. This is not the case. Farmers who have lived in the village all their lives, and who as children remembered the experience of their fathers, know their own and their neighbors' land well. Representatives from the village who suggest the grades are chosen by the farmers for their honesty, skill in agriculture, and knowledge of the land.

311 134 133 Depth of the soil, flatness, degree of stoniness and accessibility are the most important criteria. The first three of these follow naturally from conditions widespread in Okinawa. There often is very little topsoil. One can observe cuts in roads or sharp declivities which show soils only an inch or two deep before meeting the consolidated or unconsolidated rock below. The hilly and mountainous nature of the island enforces cultivation on slopes, summits, and rolling hills. Stoniness, whether large boulders or small pebbles or both is common. One of the occupations of the old in Minatogawa and Nagamo is to convert stony to arable land by tediously picking up the stones and throwing them into piles for subsequent sale in road building. But often the boulders are so large that cultivation must curve around them. These conditions can be seen to good advantage in Nagamo. In Hanashiro, the soils are flatter, less stony, and deeper. Matsuda has wide areas of poor shallow and stony soils.

[887]

[241] First class hatake land, then, is flat, deep, with few or no stones, and suitable either for sugar or the sweet potato and the various common vegetables.

311 With this standard of first class hatake land, the other grades are judged, mostly by inspection and through consultation and agreement by the committee. In the Oushichan township, there are ten such grades of hatake land, the tenth grade being so poor that it is virtually genya land. In dry crop land, probably the most important

One of these, the shimba (nnihija in Okinawan) is essentially a concave forked piece of metal set on a frame, which in turn rests on four props set up in sawbuck fashion. The rice sheaves are drawn through the teeth, causing the kernels to drop below. The sawbuck may be any desired height. Usually the top of the fork is waist level. The only significance of the shimba today is that it provides diversion and occupation for the old women, many of whom are too weak or too unsteady to operate the treadle thresher. The same is true of an even simpler device for threshing. Two short pieces of bamboo, or any piece of round wood, a little longer and with a slightly greater diameter than a pair of chopsticks, are loosely tied together on one end with straw or a strong blade of grass. The tied ends of the two sticks are held in the right hand, leaving the free ends to strip off the rice kernels from the straw. This labor is done by very old women. Age is no deterrent to work as long as people are able to get around. But, as in the south, the treadle thresher is universally used. This device was widely distributed by the Japanese agricultural specialists of the government throughout the empire in the years immediately before the war. In Matsuda, it is also thought to be about 15 years since its introduction.

As in Japan, from which the terms were borrowed, rice in various stages of cultivation and processing is known by different names. Rice in the hull is momei; unpolished rice is genmai, and polished rice is hakumai. Rice stalks are known as wara.

Hulling and polishing rice by machinery are also new in Okinawan villages. In Hanashiro, those machines driven by an open belt are about ten years old. A hand mill, the shiriushi, to be described shortly, was in general use for polishing rice up to 1940.

At present everyone, no matter how poor, pays for hulling and polishing of his rice. The mill owner in Hanashiro estimated that the machinery processed in ten minutes the amount of rice that formerly took a day to hull and polish by hand. Poor families do not try to effect savings by hand work. They pay the fee, sell the polished rice, and eat sweet potatoes.

Unpolished rice is disliked and is never eaten. It is described as hard and bitter in taste. The machinery in a rice mill varies from place to place in quality and modernity. The mill (seimaisho) has two machines: a hulling machine (momitsuriki) and a polishing machine (seimaiki). One simple type of a hulling machine is an endless chain type of mechanism. The rice is put in little buckets on the chain which carry it to rubber layers. As the rice is forced through the layers, the hulls are cracked and pinched off, and are then blown out on a pile in back. After being hulled, the rice goes through the shaft of the milling machine. The shaft housing is grooved. As the shaft revolves, it polishes the rice which is going through it. The shaft also gets heated, and this makes the polishing easier. In the older machine in Hanashiro, the rice was put through the shaft ten times

824 The most common of the Hanashiro trees are (1) the banyan or
[731] gajimaru, or yōsu. This tree is a common sight with its long roots growing around and through the stone fences. The tree with its roots bracing the stone fences is excellent typhoon protection for the village. (2) The usuku (Japanese scientific name, the akou) resembles the gajimaru in appearance and serves the same purpose. The fukugi (Garcinia spicata Hook) and an occasional cycad
[417] are common windbreaks. These trees are almost invariably in combination with stone fences, made of blocks, or with fences made of loose stones which have settled and been bound together by small plant roots. Village typhoon protection is a simple but effective combination of stone, shrubs, and trees. There is also an occasional kuroki
[534] (kurechi in Okinawan), from whose trunk the samisen, the stringed musical instrument, is made, and the palm (shuro).

There are wild plants in each of the areas but their importance has also declined. Among these is the pandanus (the adan, Japanese scientific name, the takonoki). This plant was plentiful before the war, but is now scarce except in the mountain area. It can occasionally be seen in genya land or in small clumps on an outcrop. The blades of the pandanus are long and hard, with a row of spines down both sides of the blade. It has had several uses. Formerly it was the common material for making slippers (zori), hats, cigarette cases, and hand-
[463] bags. These home industries have all but disappeared, but old people
[887] occasionally do a little. In preparing the pandanus blades for use, the thorns are removed and several strips are made. These are then boiled, dried, and smoothed out. Then they are woven into the desired pattern. A first class pandanus blade is about 5 feet long. In the
[782] celebration of O-Bon, the fruit of the pandanus may be offered as food to the ancestors.

Another plant occasionally used is the getto, known also in Okinawa as sannin or muchigasa. Its chief use is in the festival of the 8th day of the 12th lunar month. At this time, rice cakes (mochi) are wrapped up in its long and wide and flexible fibres. These wrappings, often made by children, are hung from the ceiling or from the wall. The stem of this plant was much used in the past for rope.

824 The nigana (njana in Okinawan, Ixeris dentata Nakai) is still
262 used in this area as a food and medicine. It has an exceedingly bitter
757 root, about 1/8 of an inch in diameter in a mature plant. The root is put in hot water, and the liquid drunk as a stomach medicine. The leaves, not so bitter as the root, have a sour, slightly bitter taste. They are often served with the white cuttlefish (shiroi-ikka).

The Obako (known in Okinawan as the hirawakusa or hirawagusa, Plantago Asiatica L, "Japanese ribwort") is used as a medicine and as a food. When vegetables are scarce, it is eaten as a green. As a medicine, the leaf is heated over a fire and the hot leaf is then pressed over a swelling.

for eggs, which are reserved more for sale than as a food, though this varies with the well-being of the family. 235 262

10

Conclusion

The agricultural village, with its sweet potatoes, rice, soybeans and cane, its domestic animals, and its dependence on wild grasses illustrates the complex relationships between man and the land, bound together by the family system. The pattern of land ownership, a product of past land tenure, and inheritance, has been created by the family system. The land everywhere bears these traces of the work of man. Not even the barren mountain tops are exempt from his activities, for these supply the fresh grasses for his animals, grass for his roofs and for fertiliser, odd brush for his fires, stones for his fences and boundary ridges. The scarcity of land, the ownership of small scattered plots have induced a local care, through traditional conservation practices and fertilization and crop rotation to maintain a continued economic base for the future of the main and the branch families. 182

Within the family system, there is a tendency toward the persistence of the same occupation from generation to generation. Agriculture has the widest range of possibilities. The extremely old and the extremely young can engage in it. There is a place for the 80 year old grandmother cutting sweet potato tops, and for the nine year old boy to help in weeding the rice paddy. Agriculture demands no retirement from work as long as one has physical strength. Agriculture may readily become a secondary occupation. A stonecutter or a fisherman can tend his land in leisure hours or in off season. The reverse is not nearly so common. Only with difficulty can the farmer acquire the skills and tolerances demanded of a fisherman. It is an occupation known to all, for by maturity a storehouse of information has already been filled, almost unconsciously, by watching and doing. [463] [887] [857]

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60% of the proceeds. The trees thus sold are all cut down. After clearcutting, the area is left to natural reseeding. About twenty years hence, the clearing will again be sufficiently forested to permit repetition of the same procedure. This follows an established Japanese pre-war practice. This was known as the five year period share (gonenkanbun). The forest is divided into subdivisions, each 110 chō in area. (A chō is 2.45 acres). These 110 chō plots are in turn subdivided into five parcels of twenty-two chō each. Each year one of these five subdivisions may be cleared.

Throughout the forest, divided up into these plots, there may be a five year cycle of cutting, but not all the plots are available every year. If this were so, the forest could be cut over in five years. The system is planned so that there will always be parcels being cleared, those in various stages of regrowth, and mature stands. During and after the war, this practice broke down in favor of uncontrolled cutting.

If a family has little cash, a villager may pay his taxes in part by cutting wood. The village office pays Y4 for a bundle of firewood (late 1951), Y2 going to the villager as a cash payment, and Y2 being applied to his taxes for the year.

The farmer makes frequent excursions to the mountains to obtain firewood or poles to make improvements in the compound, such as repairing a tool or food shed. Men do this work, especially when the distances are far, but the participation of women is by no means exceptional. Along the roads of northern Okinawa, one can frequently see old women walking down from the mountains carrying bundles of firewood on heavy poles. Much of the wood is hand carried from the mountains; if the farmer has a horse and cart or a truck, the wood is carried to a convenient road for loading and transport.

Charcoal is manufactured in the forest area. In Okinawa charcoal has many uses, mainly for heating and cooking, and for charcoal sticks (senko). Lumps of charcoal are placed in braziers and the sticks are used as touchwood in place of matches and in ceremonial and religious observances. Charcoal containers (tangu) are often constructed on the spot. These are round or box-shaped and made out of the dwarf bamboo.

Charcoal kilns are privately owned. They are of the simplest sort. The kiln may be covered with a rude housing, built up by poles and a thatch roof. A mound of large boulders and dirt is built with an opening on the dirt floor running the length of the firing area. Poles which have been stripped and cut in various lengths, from five to nine feet, are shoved in the opening and moved forward as they burn. The smoke comes out the back.

Forest maintenance and improvement is, in part, a result of community endeavor. With some exceptions, each person in the village from 16 to 60 participates one day a year in forest improvement (sōrin).[8] The participants are boys past school age, unmarried girls, and all men up to the age of 60. These people work without personal remunera-

[8] The usual meaning of sōrin is afforestation or reforestation. In Matsuda it is used in the sense of care and improvement of the forest.

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mother, for example, fed her child rice gruel (okayu) at eight months and at the age of one year the child began eating sweet potatoes. By the time the child is ready to walk and play, he often carries with him a piece of sweet potato, and, in season, a piece of sugar cane. 853 262

A party is held on the first birthday anniversary of the child. This is more elaborate than the one which honored his birth. Birthdays are not celebrated each year. After the first anniversary, the next are on the 13th, 25th, 37th, 49th, and 61st birthdays, that is, at twelve year intervals. 852 527

The party for the first birthday of a child is particularly tender and affectionate. At one year, he can walk or stumble, and answer or smile to the calls of his parents and grandparents. [856] He can pick up things, throw them, and make his presence felt. The exhibition of these skills becomes part of the celebration. It is customary to invite both relatives and friends, who bring a small money present, from ¥20 which is usual to ¥100 which is uncommon.

527 852 431

During the party, the child is given several symbolic gifts. These are placed on a low table in the middle of the room which the child can easily walk to and reach. Usually the gifts are a book, a fountain pen (or a writing brush, fude), an abacus (soroban), [212] and a stack of paper money. These symbolize the wish that the child will become proficient in learning, writing, counting and mathematics, [802] and will become rich. The child is eagerly watched as he unsteadily [554] toddles to the table to see which article he picks up first. While the act is not taken seriously, the article which the child picks up first is supposed to indicate the field of endeavor in which he will be most fortunate.

These parties, small or large, include men, women, and children, but the majority of the guests usually are men. After the child has gone to bed, the party continues. In more formal and larger parties, the guests first come up to the father, go on their knees, bow, and make a short speech of congratulation. Sometimes these [576] speeches sound as if they are prepared beforehand, other times as [537] if they are spoken spontaneously. There is an exchange of sake between the father and his guest, both sipping from the same cup, the usual custom. The mother and the female relatives during this time are in the kitchen preparing the food. 852 527

Women sit by themselves. This is true of all celebrations when [562] the sexes are together. Women do not drink. (In a similar party near Matsuda, the old women--usually over 60--drank a little). The jolly [535] old women also love to dance solos in the traditional style. They [887] dance with grace and vigor. The evening progresses without any planned entertainment. There is talking and drinking, singing, and [533] samisen playing. Men, with a repertoire of Okinawan songs, sing in

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The Division of Labor

462

In all the villages there is a division of labor between the sexes. There are, however, wide areas in which men and women do the same work. In Matsuda and Hanashiro, the usual tasks of the women were the care of the children, maintaining the house and its surroundings, excluding heavy work or repairs, laundering, making foods like bean curd and bean paste, taking rice to the mill, hoeing sweet potatoes and gathering tops for the pigs.

Men, in the main, plant and transplant rice, hoe, plow, and harrow the rice field, cut the rice, make house and compound repairs, and help others in housebuilding. Men carry the main burden of agriculture, though women frequently give a great deal of help. In Matsuda, men get firewood from the mountains. Wood and other fuel from nearby spots are gathered by women. Both men and women may take care of pigs, or operate the rice treadle thresher. Daily feeding of the pigs and the smashing of sweet potatoes in a stone mortar with a long wooden pestle is usually the work of women.

The small shops are generally operated by women. Men who do so are likely to be in poor health or disabled for heavy work. Weaving grasses and rushes for rugs or baskets is done by men. If the former has a surplus, the wife generally sells it. The produce for sale is carried in baskets on the head. (Head carrying is more common in the southern villages than in Matsuda). [482]

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This division of labor between the sexes becomes indistinct among the old. Old men and women, if able, work at some task until they die. In the south, they may often be seen gathering grass on the mountain sides. The very old do many of the tasks of their prime, but they neither work so long or so hard. This is especially true in agriculture.

462

In the fishing village, a division of labor also takes place. The men are responsible for catching fish and for maintaining the boats and the gear, the women for the sale and distribution of the fish. The old fisherman contents himself with repairs and general maintenance; the old stonecutter does the chipping and the bevelling.

Grandmothers assume the care and supervision of older children, while the mother is preoccupied with the baby. The old women may also do cooking, house cleaning, laundering and feed the pigs. Care of pigs is often an incidental chore in a woman's daily routine. [887]

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ment in these arts, in my opinion, is not due to absence of feeling and talent, but to conditions unfavorable to the development of ability beyond the stage of extemporaneous entertainment or for simple practical ends. 181

14

Activities of Old Age

In old age there is no distinct break with the activities experienced from childhood. Around the age of 55 a man or a woman is considered old. He or she has left the middle age, and henceforth may be called grandfather or grandmother. 888

A man legally retires at sixty. But this is retirement from house headship not from active work. The retired father remains in the background but he is respected and consulted. Men and women in their fifties, sixties, and seventies work much more leisurely and sporadically at their tasks, if they can. In the eighties, if they are still able, they confine themselves to strolls throughout the village. There are afternoon naps. The old go to bed very early. But they do not, if physically able, lose contact with the life around them. 887

This lack of retirement from active life, among the old, is most pronounced in agricultural villages because there are so many simple and easy chores to be done. In non-agricultural occupations, the opportunities for continuing work in old age are not so great. But there are compromises. In Hinatoguma, the old men often repair the fishing nets, help take care of the boats, dry fish, and cut grasses. The old stonecutter does light chipping and bevelling. The old women may gather rocks.

There is no formal legal retirement for a woman, unless she is the head of a house. One of the striking activities of old women is their frequent travelling on buses. They may be merely visiting a nearby village, or they may have a basket of fish, vegetables, eggs, or perhaps a chicken to sell. They add humor and gayety to a bus journey. An old woman does not hesitate to tell a young person politely but authoritatively to give her a seat or to ask the passengers to make way for her. Old women make humorous comments, and talk freely to total strangers. Okinawans of all ages are courteous to the old and to women with children and readily give up their seats, even on a long bus journey. 888 887

In these villages, one cannot fail to notice the good humor, the interest in life, and the honored place of the old. It is not uncommon for a young man or a young woman from another village, in leisure hours, to visit an old person: a grandparent, an uncle or an aunt, the midwife who attended at his birth, his "growing up" parent, or the elderly relative of one of his friends. These visits are not mere formalities, and they may sit talking an hour or two over tea. Old men and women 888

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

an empty oxygen bottle with a wooden mallet to mark the time. The noon bell tells people in the fields and mountains that it is time for the midday meal and helps those who have a clock to compare the time. The evening bell indicates that it is time to end the day. Schoolchildren do not need a clock, since they get up early in the morning and go to school soon after, knowing that they are probably early. For most adults, daylight and sun position are enough to tell the approximate hour of the day. Some take arrival and departure of the bus, four times a day, as a point of orientation.

Old women are the first to rise in the morning. Long before dawn during the winter, or with the first light of the summer day, they get up and start a fire to boil sweet potatoes and heat the soybean soup. Blue smoke rising through the thatched roof into the early morning sky indicates that life in the village has begun. Children soon awake. The door is pushed open and a sleepy child appears to urinate off the edge of the house. Men are the last to rise. Considering the effect of the sake which they may have consumed on the preceding evening, it is remarkable that they are able to wake up so soon. By 6:30 the sleepiest person has risen.

The addition of outer clothes to the underclothing in which most people sleep is simple. Cold water splashed over the face and a quick turn at the toothbrush is all the toilet needed to begin a new day.

The task of folding comforters and taking down the mosquito net falls to one of the older children or to the mother. Older children and young girls help to carry water from the tank, the first task that has to be done after getting up. After breakfast, women feed the pigs. By about 7 o'clock everybody is ready for work. On a good day people leave for the mountains or start toward their fields—schoolchildren are on their way, too.

By 8 o'clock, except during very poor weather, the village is left to the old people and young children. Little boys and girls hang around, waiting for kindergarten to start at 9 o'clock. Play begins for them after they leave the house in the morning and does not end until evening.

For men and women, the routine of work in fields and forests is prescribed by seasonal activities which demand their special attention, but there are daily chores, such as digging potatoes, picking vegetables, and collecting feed for the animals and firewood for cooking. Only a few men who go to the mountains, taking their midday meal along, are away all day. The rest come and go during the day from the rice paddies, potato fields, or forests, so that there is repeated contact between children and their parents. A young child, even if left in the

462 heavy sods in the rice paddy; nevertheless, women and younger girls
[241] often do this work along with the men and boys if time runs short. There are some women who prepare their farm land without the help of their husbands.

[313] In mountain work, women produce almost as much as men except that they do not handle the large logs. Even pregnant women make
[843] three or four daily mountain trips, sometimes up until the day of childbirth. Only the mode of carrying wood, like any load, differs for
[482] the sexes: a man uses a carrying stick supported on his shoulder, with two bundles attached to each end; a woman carries bundles on her back, tied and held in place by a tump line tied over her forehead. Women can carry loads of 100 to 120 pounds in this manner.

[312] Men seldom carry water from the tank or faucet to the house; this is considered women's work, although younger boys are expected to
241 help at times. Work in the potato fields is mainly women's respon-
462 sibility. Their hands are also preferred in rice transplanting, where dexterity is needed in pulling out the tender shoots from the seed bed and replanting them in straight rows at measured intervals. Occasionally a young man helps, and boys sometimes try to work along with their sisters when they learn transplanting. Both men and women sow
462 the seed beds. In special activities, such as house building, a more dis-
[342] tinct division of labor can be observed. In any building activity, men do the structural work and women carry materials and cook for the
[653] men. The same division of labor is found on community projects, road building, fencing against wild pigs, or repairing the water pipes. In general, however, no special comment is made if either a man or woman performs work usually done by the opposite sex.

● 887 Men and women work in the fields and forests from ages 15 to 60.
462 When they approach 60, men like to "retire." If possible, they turn
[464] over their responsibilities as household heads to their eldest sons. From then on, they tend to stay home more and more. They can still help with less demanding work, making bamboo rings for firewood bundles, sawing wood, or doing odd jobs around the house. Approaching old age, most men become economically useless and in other ways contribute little to society. For old women, quite the contrary is true. Even
[241] grandmothers who are well over 60 seem strong and active. Most of them go to the fields to plant or harvest potatoes or other vegetables. One woman, well into her sixties and bent over from arthritis, took long walks to distant potato fields, with a heavy load of slips or potatoes in a basket on her back, a hoe on top of it, supporting herself on a
[855] stick. Other grandmothers look after the youngest children, thus freeing the mother for work. Old women also cook, help bundle firewood,

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Taira

and look after the sick. Even if they are too old for any work, like two oldsters over 80 years, they can still hold the youngest grandchild. Two exceptional old men, brothers of almost the same age, pass their time by making rope bags and mats from the fiber of the fan palm. Both are active as financial experts, investing money here and there and lending it for high interests in various shrewd transactions.

INFORMAL AND FORMAL COOPERATION

Cooperation plays a prominent part in Taira economy. Assistance is always given for major tasks, such as preparing grass land for farm use or house building, or for work which must be done quickly, such as transplanting rice or harvesting and milling sugar. In fact, since wet rice cultivation depends on assistance in any culture that works its paddies by hand, it is noteworthy that the term *iimarû*, used in Taira for labor exchange in planting and harvesting, is also extended to other mutual assistance. The term, literally translated, means "gathering by rotation." A family who plans a project that needs the help of others makes an informal arrangement with relatives or neighbors to help for one or more days. This is simply done by notifying individuals that such help is needed. No one, unless he has urgent reasons, would refuse to comply with a call for assistance. If it is a small task, a few close relatives are asked. In most larger undertakings, it is the neighborhood group that lends a hand. These mutual-assistance groups usually form within the central village and within each of the geographical clusters of the outlying village, although close relatives from other parts of the community may be called. However, the most recent arrivals in Taira, all present members of one family line who have the same surname, act jointly in reclamation of neglected fields to strengthen their economic position.

Return services are expected, but nobody would admit that there is any thought of equal compensation and would not even joke about the matter. There is a strong feeling that calculated thinking is unseemly not only among relatives but also among unrelated neighbors. One man, when asked what would happen if a person refused to comply to a request for help, answered, "There is no such dirty person, and if there were one, he would be an outcast." During the rice planting season, persons helping in another's fields will shortly be helped themselves. In housebuilding, a long time may pass until those who aided will need aid in return.

Except for people over 56, pregnant women, and mothers of chil-

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602 476 on one's mother's side and, after marriage, the wife's family. In seeking mutual assistance for rice planting, house building and other undertakings, such relatives may be approached. In other words, kin, neighbors, and members of the same geographical section of the village participate almost equally in mutual assistance groups. Maternal relatives join in family celebrations and in the discussion of family matters. Since many decisions are made jointly with the help of relatives, there are frequent occasions for the kindred to gather in the evening at one house or another.

561 Each Okinawan also belongs to an age group. As will be described in the section on socialization, beginning at kindergarten an Okinawan becomes associated with a group of boys and girls who will remain his 575 653 companions through school. As a member of junior high school he will join the formal Student's Association, which is responsible for certain community projects. High school students and all unmarried young adults belong to the Young People's Association, which is both a social group and a cooperative work group.

575 185 [562] After marriage there are several associations which one may join. Adult married women who are under 57 belong to the Women's Association, which is affiliated with an island organization dedicated to "modernizing" women's lives. The organization is lead by a few women who are in contact with the district and island organization. They attempt at semisocial gatherings to introduce changes aimed at easing [262] the burdens of daily life and the pressure of poverty. For example, they are trying to influence the women to return to making their own bean paste rather than spending precious cash. The leaders show the women how to make bean paste and encourage them to set aside one work-free day a month to catch up with neglected housework. Many of the efforts of the organization, however, are not too successful. Most women go back to their homes and find that the accustomed ways are easier to follow. One has learned to live with economic pressures and tradition and established custom is a strong force. So the few forward-looking women have a difficult task in rallying others.

Both adult married males and females may also join an organization similar in objective—the Home Improvement group. Although the men who are village leaders belong to this association, the majority of the members are the same women who are leaders in the Women's Association.

575 887 623 Before World War II there was an association of older men.* Although this group seldom, if ever, meets, it still sends a representative to the village council and to a few village functions.

* Apparently of relatively recent origin.

as usual. It was an affair organized by the women leaders, which, though a little slow in starting, turned into a gay carousing for the older women, who were less inhibited than the younger ones and needed little encouragement to drink and dance.

The daily life of a woman is more monotonous than her husband's and she has less leisure and recreation. After a day of hard work, men sit down alone or in groups to spend the evening in relaxation with a bottle of sake. After a short time they show signs of pleasant intoxication and all burdens of life seem to disappear. Such recourse to carefree diversion is generally denied women. Instead, they are loaded down with household chores and care of infants and guests after a day of work in fields and forests. They spend their little free time exchanging news with other women or talking with other family members or visitors who assemble around the charcoal fire in the back room during winter evenings. Only women of advanced age feel free to join the men in drinking at home.

Men have greater sexual freedom. They are at liberty to have affairs with other women outside the village and on trips to the city may visit tea houses and afterwards enjoy the favors of a prostitute if their pocket books allow.

Status differences based on age are reflected in the social structure and clearly denoted in the kinship terms. There is a special term of reference and address for "first son" and "first daughter" and for "older brother" and "older sister." As mentioned, ideally the oldest son assumes responsibility for the household, for his parents, and for the ancestral tablets. Even if he leaves his parental home temporarily or permanently for the city, where economic prospects are better, he remains the nominal household head and sends money back to his family. Theoretically the oldest male may retain authority until death, although in practice most men retire from this position at the age of 61. Their retirement is made official by an entry in the population registry. They continue to live with their oldest son and act as advisors and critics. A man's loss of authority with age occurs around his late fifties and early sixties and is evidenced not only by his retirement but also by his loss of the right to vote in village meetings. Veneration for age itself therefore, does not exist. Actual behavior toward the grandparental generation, all the members of which are addressed as "grandmother" or "grandfather" regardless of actual kinship, is warm, mildly playful, and indulgent. Disrespect, however, is absent.

It is characteristic of the relationship between children and grandmothers that in addressing nonrelated old women, the suffix *-san*, which denotes respect, is most often dropped for the "grandmother"

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before noon but for the fact that she had to return to attend to the infant.

If a grandmother is available, the mother straps the 3-to-4 months old baby onto the grandmother's back in the morning and goes off to the mountains with her husband to haul firewood or to the fields to cultivate sweet potatoes. For the first six months she returns to the house frequently during the day to nurse the infant. It is likely that while the infant demands feeding at short intervals, a mother will work in or around the village. At one of the locations for firewood bundling she can make the bamboo rings, fit the cut wood into them, and stack the bundles.

Throughout the morning hours grandmother, with the infant on her back, wanders about the village. Occasionally she offers her dry breast to the bawling infant who cannot seem to wait until its mother returns from the fields or mountains. If the mother is nearby, she hurries so that the infant does not cry for long. When the hour for lunch approaches, the grandmother hurries home to begin preparations for the noonday meal. As she walks, the infant's head bobs up and down, forward and back precariously, but it continues to sleep undisturbed.

After lunch has been eaten and the infant nursed, the adults in the household sip their tea and rest for an hour or so. Within that hour the mother may play with the infant or nap with it nestled in her arms. Rousing themselves from the noon nap, the adults return to the mountains and fields. The infant is again strapped to the grandmother's back, but this time as she slowly wends her way to the main thoroughfare, she calls out to someone in a house which boasts one of the few clocks in the village. "Hey, what is the time there?" The answer will quicken her pace, for it is near the time for an older sibling to return from school. As she reaches the main street, she joins other grandmothers as well as mothers who are anxiously scanning the direction from which the schoolchildren return. Each admires the infants on the other's back and exchanges timely topics of the day, but as the minutes pass and no children appear, they begin to grumble about the "irresponsible siblings who *must* be playing on their way home." At last the older child returns, and the grandmother hurries home with her charges, promptly transfering the infant onto the back of the older sibling. The old woman rushes to get her hoe and basket, mumbling to herself about the quantity of potatoes she should harvest for the next day's use.

An older child who ignores the crying of his infant charge will be criticized severely by his peers. If the mother happens to be in the

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brother or big sister" take effect, he is the most miserable creature alive in the village. 866 862

Weaning from the back often occurs at the same time as weaning from the breast; if not it occurs within six months. While this study was being done, eight children between 18 months and 2 years were weaned from the back as well as from the breast. Temper tantrums in which the child would sit down and scream his head off, hurl dirt and stones at his mother, older siblings, or adults who stopped to have a kind word with him or to ridicule him, and incessant whining were symptomatic of the repercussions of abrupt withdrawal. Sulkiness, stubbornness, and tyrannical behavior, however, are short lived. The child finds that although this kind of behavior brought immediate and rewarding responses in the past, he now faces further withdrawal or punishment as a result. The mother impatiently screams back at him to stop crying, and siblings simply leave him behind to keep up with his own pace or drag him along forcibly and uncomfortably, with threats of punishment if he refuses to cooperate. As if to heap more abuse on deprivation, he finds the newly arrived baby the center of the household and taking his place at his mother's breast. He is encouraged and discouraged by turns. "You are an older brother or an older sister. You do not drink your mother's milk now. And see how big you are and such a good child," now encourage visitors. "Come here, hurry!" scream older siblings or mother when he fails to keep in step with them on walks. For about three months the child's bleary eyes, tear-streaked face, and woebegone expression are unquestionable evidences of the most unhappy interval of his childhood.

In an attempt to continue "ruling" the family, he goes into frequent rages. He demands anything and everything in sight, concentrating on the breast and on being carried. Desperately he screams and cries. Finally he sits on the ground and refuses to move. If his caretaker does not pick him up at that point, he will simply lie prone and cry hysterically. Usually adults scream back at him and start walking away, whereupon the child quickly picks himself off the ground and runs after the retreating caretaker. In this way the child's control is broken. Furthermore, he is ridiculed, shamed and scolded for his "babyish" behavior. Only the grandmother, with whom he sleeps at night, responds to his dominating behavior. During the day, he whines, wheedles, and makes numerous demands on her. [513]

Obviously family structure determines in part the severity of the deprivation. The child who lives in a household with a grandmother and perhaps older siblings will have someone to indulge him. The 866 887 603

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866 first child of a nuclear family, on the other hand, will not have these supports and thus finds this time severely depriving. The child in a 887 nuclear family with a number of older siblings to support and meet 603 his dependency needs will find the transition difficult but will suffer less deprivation. If there is a grandmother or older siblings in the house, he can still claim some infantile support until he is about 4 or 5 years old. They continue to comfort him when he cries, help him in dressing, bathing, and eating. "Go ask your grandmother or older sibling," instructs the mother when the child requests aid. Or, if she happens not to be busy, she will help him herself.

[596] Mothers in extended households complained that grandparents often intervened on behalf of the child and made disciplining very difficult. The kindergarten teacher remarked on the differences between children who have grandparents and those who do not. "Those who do not have grandparents are much easier to handle, they don't cry so easily and do many things for themselves. My child always runs to grandfather whenever I scold her (there is no grandmother in the house) . . . and we mothers end up by being scolded by the old folks," she remarked.

It is not an uncommon sight to see a child crying and running to his grandmother on being reprimanded by his mother. With carrying, hugging, and venting anger against the mother, the old woman comforts the child. Children soon learn that if no one else complies with their demands, grandmother or grandfather will grant them satisfaction.

866 Grandmothers often will protect and indulge children of the vil-
603 lage other than their own grandchildren. One day as the fieldworker
855 sat talking with two mothers and watching their children play, the question of Okinawans' dislike of children's crying, and of overindulgence of grandmothers arose. The year and a half old boy of one of the women at that instant got one foot over the lower rail of a fence. As the child watched others climbing the fence, he tried to lift the other foot. He howled as he discovered the feat too difficult. The mother made no move to go to the boy's aid but instead sat laughing at the "foolish predicament he got himself into." Suddenly from the house across the way rushed a grandmother. She picked the screaming boy up and examined him for bruises. When she spotted the mother sitting within eye and earshot, she rushed over with the boy and started to scold her. "What are you doing sitting there! Just looking at your crying child! Why didn't you go over and help him . . . see what the matter was anyway?" And with this she put the child in the mother's lap and gave her a slap on the back. The old woman then

857 cuddled it in her arms. The 5-year-old in this case was disappointed
854 at being relieved of his charge, but no doubt would have been happy to be absolved of any blame in the event that the baby had fallen and hurt itself.

857 Most 4- and 5-year-olds, therefore, find their nurturant efforts frus-
866 trated, for they are considered too young to carry their younger siblings. They are told that their necks will hurt, they are not strong enough,
[593] and that they will be dwarfs if they started to carry such a heavy bur-
[155] den from such an early age. A sturdy 5-year-old, nevertheless, finds that if he is persistent enough, his mother will allow him to carry his infant sibling for short periods of time with close supervision. It is on these short jaunts that the child basks in the shower of praise and is richly rewarded for his nurturant behavior. Several mothers reported how their 4- and 5-year-olds take pride periodically in mopping up floors, setting tables, and clearing up after a meal. "They don't really do these chores, they help at it, but we let them do it because they like to. And if they don't feel like doing it, we don't say anything," report these mothers.

857 Frequently kindergarten children accompany their mothers to the
241 potato fields in the afternoons. There they play in and around the
866 plants or "help" their mothers. One 4-year-old girl pointed out with pride that she goes with her mother to their fields to "clean dirt off the potatoes" which her mother has dug before placing them in the basket. Boys of 3 and 5 were observed "assisting" by following adults' instructions to drop the seed potato into the hole at planting time. Generally adults dislike taking children to distant fields, for they beg to be carried near the half-way point. Occasionally a young child who has been on such a trip is toted back in the grandmother's empty carrying basket or in one of the suspended shoulder-yoke baskets of his grandfather.

863 During the kindergarten period, constant pressure is put on the
514 child to learn sphincter control. The child goes pantless until he attains this goal, which is usually achieved by the age of 4. There is little formal bowel training. Children simply crouch and defecate. Grandmothers or mothers clean up the feces as soon as they see them. Younger children eliminate all over the village, but by 3 they usually restrict themselves to their own yards. When there are grandmothers
● [887] in the family, bowel training seems to be taken over by them. Not infrequently the old woman can be seen standing over a child in the yard or cleaning up both the child and the yard. She is generally the one who gently coaxes the child to use the outhouse when he is old enough and physically able to straddle the opening over the pit. The

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[855] Adult Responsibility For women responsibilities come early. Mothers give their daughters tasks while their sons play. At marriage a woman enters her husband's household and immediately assumes adult burdens that she may not put down until old age. As a grandmother she may still care for grandchildren while her husband has left most of his responsibilities to his sons. She may acquire ritual responsibilities toward her husband's family which can only increase with time.

[857] For a man responsibilities come gradually. Childhood is a time for play---except for the future scholar, or in cases of extreme poverty. Youth is a time when responsibilities may be postponed---except where an oldest son has been orphaned. Even after marriage a young man, though he may have to work hard, is not expected to remain sober and stay home nights. The peak of a man's responsibility comes with full maturity, when he has sons himself and when his father is beginning to age. This peak may rise to greater heights than that of his wife and his labor may be harder and make greater demands on [887] his strength and health. But again in old age he may put his burden down and he is expected to seek those pleasures that he can still enjoy.

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888 Women's lives may be duller but they are generally longer. And in old age a woman has the compensation of greater freedom than she has ever had before. Old women often speak with a frankness that is embarrassing to young people of either sex. Old women are also the repositories of knowledge of the ancestors and of the supernatural and thus become greatly respected and [794] influential. Both the religious functionaries (kaminchu) of the kinship group [795] and the seeresses or mediums (yuta) consulted on numerous occasions are usually women. An old man, unless he is a scholar or a diviner (sanjinsoo) has less chance of attaining fame.

But old men, as well as old women, may become tyrants. One Yamada family consisted of an old couple and their three grandchildren, the oldest a boy of twenty. This boy was registered as the head of the family, while the old man, according to the register, had retired; but when the boy had the opportunity to make a little money, which he needed for clothes, the old man took it for tobacco. On the other hand he permitted the youths of the neighborhood to hold parties in his house---hoping, one suspects, to help consume the refreshments---something a middle-aged parent might not have tolerated.

899 Formal Recognition of Old Age A man may officially retire , that is, he may transfer house headship in the register to a son or grandson, but as
889 I have just indicated this may not prevent him from actually holding the family
527 purse strings. For the community formal recognition of old age comes with the celebration of "year days" (tushibii). These are held on the anniversaries of the "birth year" of an old person. A person's birth year is the year, in the cycle of twelve, in which he was born. Since the reckoning of age is a matter of counting the years during which one has lived, the year of birth counts as one and so when the cycle of twelve has passed once and the year is again the birth year, a person's years are thirteen. Each time a person's birth year recurs it marks a significant point in his life. These recurrences are celebrated not on the anniversary of the day of birth but on the first day of the cycle that corresponds to the year, after Lunar New Year's. Thus 1954 was